

Plaine English:

OR,

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE ACCOMMODATION,

The Armie,

The Association.

*Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur,*

Printed (unlesse men be the more carefull, and  
God the more mercifull) the last  
of Liberty, 1643.



# Plaine English:



He that desires and promotes not an honest and honourable peace, let him suffer under the danger and confusion of a Civill winter warre; He that would seeke or accept peace upon unsafe and unworthy termes, let him have it; I can wish him no greater mischiet.

It is a mutuall complaint in the world, that some are all for peace, others wholly for warre; I am for neither, and yet for both; I alwayes loved peace well, but better now then ever; upon a just cause and calling I can scorne the danger of warre, but the sin and confusion of an Army I hate; I love peace so well, that I can endure warre to accomplish it; and I think I love it better, I am sure I love a better peace then they that can abide the thought of nothing else, though they enjoy nothing lesse; they would have a truce, I love a peace.

I love peace as my health, warre I cannot say I love, but use it as Physicke: were not health very sweet, Pills would be very bitter; there is no such pleasure in blood letting. I look to peace as my end, I look upon warre as the unhappy, yet not alwayes, yet not now the unjust means to procure it. I cannot be in the opinion of them who thinke happinesse inconsistent with warre, and inseparable from peace: where God is, there is happinesse, he is the Lord of Hosts, the God of peace.

To come nearer, we have found it not impossible to be miserable under the Motto of *Beatifici*; if it be misery, as indeed it is, to see our neighbours and friends wasted, and the foundation of our owne ruine laid. This warre is the fruit of peace, peace may be the fruit of this warre: I dare undertake to make good one, the God of Heaven make good the other.

It was peace with our spirituall enemies, with our sinnes, with our superstitious Idolatries, Sabbath breakings, it was peace with our outward both Forraigne and intestine enemies, Spain and its faction, that we may both in a religious and reasonable way conclude, have brought us to this passe. God may justly let those counsels that have wrought our neighbours misery work our owne.

And here let me take leave in this freedome of speaking to give an account of my thoughts concerning the hinges upon which these troubles

now move: Because I finde many at a stand, admiring how wee are come to this height of calamity: Wee looke upon the hand that moves, and heare the hammer that strikes, and tells us wee are at the Evening of our unsound peace, and that we are in danger to passe a midnight before wee shall see a better and clearer morning of truth and peace arise upon us springing from on high. But there are very few that look upon the wheeles and springs the weights and lines, which move and act the things we see and heare.

For my part I am very farre from a Statesman, my yeeres will not allow me experience, my parts insight, my calling leisure, nor my acquaintance intelligence, all which are necessary thereto. But I never yet shut my eyes to light, nor my eares to Truth. I have not been indiligent in observing and comparing the actions and proceedings of men, I have desired as a man to know, as another man to know news, as a Christian man to know and consider the present and probable state of the Church of God, and the account I have given my selfe is this:

I looke upon a grand designe of the Jesuites and their faction as the great wheele moving to and in this businesse. Hee that knowes any thing of the Christian world must know something of the Antichristian, & in that of the masters of the faction the Jesuites, which are a *Compendium* of the Romish Religion, in which and in whom, besides Idolatry and superstition, are mee pride, subtilty, and cruelty. It hath beene not unjustly suspected that there hath been a designe of these masters of Religion, or rather rebellion, to which they have been moved by the weights of intollerable pride and misguided zeale, to reduce as much of the world as they can comprehend in their vast thoughts to the Monarchy of *Spain* and the Supremacie of *Rome*. And to this purpose they have bin indefatigable in their endeaours in all Countries and of all kinds. It concernes not this present businesse much for mee to obserue what they have attempted, and how farre they have prevailed in other Countries; Though it deserves our notice to consider how farre they have proceeded in *Germany*; what seeds they have sowne in *France* and in *Holland* it selfe, notwithstanding its professed detestation of them and vigilancie against them; even such as we may iustly suspect may grow up the next Spring and set all Christendome in a confusion, and make the world a fit shop for these sonnes of perdition to worke in.

But let us a little more fully view their proceedings toward us, where at first we discern an earnest and not groundlesse desire of reducing us among the first, as knowing *England* would be a rich Diamond in a Crowne or Mitre, and as advantageous to their honour, power and riches, as any other. The severall attempts in the time of our glorious *Q. Elizabeth* are sufficient attestations of this designe and desire; They saw it impossible to worke upon her in regard of her aversenesse to their nation and religion, they began



to work against her both, her person and her Kingdome; Hee that knowes anything, knowes and acknowledges the many deliverances God vouchsafed her, and this Kingdome in her, from a continued succession of Treasons and Assassinations; Their severall machinations against her Kingdome, especially that grand one of 88. are equally knowne, and when they saw it unlikely to prevaile here, they endeavor to weaken and vex her with rebellions in *Ireland*; an old Play new acted. After this *Sm* was set, they hoped for a succession of thicke darknesse by interrupting the lawfull succession of one whom they could not so well be assured of, though some say they attempted him, and prevail'd farre enough: That could not be done, they are put to an after-game, which they play first desperately, in the Powder-treason, then subtilly, as may hereafter appeare. They began to be weary of violent attempts, and discerned a nature in His Majesty which they could make a good advantage of, peaceable and fearefull, willing quietly to enjoy that addition of power and revenue he had attained. They let him be quiet, provided that he would quietly see and suffer the protestant Churches of *Germany* to be spoiled and wasted, which I am sorry to say he did, through the disadvantage of his nature and Counsels, though he was a man in point of iudgement right against popery. But they could easily allow him that, let him dispute and play at Tick-tack with *Bellarmino* at his leisure, provided they could destroy the Palatinate, and get more another way. It was doubtlesse suggested to him an attempt to be absolute, that by catching at more he might endanger all; its like he might well enough digest the thought but not the means so full of danger and hazard: therefore left that worke for others of more forwardnesse, and lesse foresight. The plot and circumstances of the *Spanish Match*, some of which are printed, shew how farre they had prevailed, and what hopes they had. To come to his now Majesties reigne, of which I shall speak as tenderly and as truly as I can. The same designe hath still beene doubtlesse driven: It is true, in a match we changed *Spaine* for *France*, *Calam non animam*, as it falls out. The two great works they have endeavoured, have beene upon our Religion and our Liberties, to blinde our eyes by superstition and ignorance, to binde our hands by oppression and slavery, that they might lead us or carry us any whither. The first they looked at as the end, the second as the meanes: In all places a temporall tyranny is a great step to Ecclesiasticall, and especially in our Kingdome, where our Religion is fenced in with positive Law, they must breake this hedge before they can spoile the Vineyard; but he that breaks this hedge a Serpent shall bite him. And cruelly they had made a mischievous progresse, they had got instruments for their turne in Church and State three or foure especially, who indeed moved all; One in Church of a right Antichristian spirit, insufferably insolent, more cruell then subtil, through the



the violence of his passion, a man delighting in the blood of soules; In the State two or three, one of strong parts, and a spirit fit for a great Turke; another or two mischievously subtil, and of a thorow Spanish dye. They had observed all the rules that the Jesuite gives for reducing a protestant State, as in a Sermon preached this late 5. of November is more exactly declared. They had procured the discontinuance of parliaments and made themselves and their instruments incapable of account, but to one whom they had so farre seduced as to like it well enough. They had brought us a great way in a still march, and had drawne us further, had not the Conductors mistooke their way, and led us too farre North ward, which hath set them some yeares backward, if not spoyled the plot. Heere they kindled a fire which they knew not how to quench, and so they resolved to encrease it, though they burnt their fingers. When they saw it impossible to avoid a parliament, they thought to delude it; this was the attempt upon the first Parliament, when that could not be done, they dissolved it, and went about to delude the people with a promise to right grievances out of Parliament as much as in it; which how well kept let any man call up his two yeares memory, that promise was not a promise, but a prophesie of more such promises: which prophesie hath beene fulfilled though the promises have not. It would not yet doe, Mens eyes were opened, the string of their tongues loosed, another Parliament must be call'd, even that which because it cannot be recall'd, must be mis-call'd, because it would not (at least for a time) be deluded, it must be destroyed: and thus am I led to the present condition: What need wee looke for any other ground of the severall attempts against this Parliament, then that disposition and those Counsels which discontinued them, which are still as strong, and more desperate then ever, because of the new quarrels that are fallen in: I know there have been many particular occasions, at least taken, of breaches, and discontents, but yet the quarrell is not against this, but all Parliaments, unlesse they could get one new moulded that should be a *Conciliabulum* rather then a *Concilium*.

But I must be call'd to account for this Discourse: It may be thought impossible, that we should be so besotted as to drive a Spanish designe, and to fight for them in *England*, who fight against us in *Ireland*, Its true it were a wonder we should doe this, if it were a wonder, we should doe any thing to undoe our selves: It hath been our disposition a good while, either to doe nothing, or any thing, excepting always some person who are vigilant and earnest to disappoint these mischiefs, we have made severall expeditions to serve them: One to *Cales* to shew them where they were weakest, and give them notice, that no body else should take it: Another to *Ree* to weaken our selves: A third to *Roebel*, to see the Towne safely delivered up: A fourth and fifth to *Scotland*, to make them our yokefellowes: and why not now a sixth more directly against our selves.

But its further objected, it cannot be beleevd this should be either his Majesties intention to inflave his Kingdome, or the intention of those Lords and Gentlemen that are with him to despoile themselves of their Religion and Liberties. I returne this: They may doe the worke they intend not, and as wise as they take themselves, may be over-acted in their own designs. I cannot, I dare not say, that they doe agree in the serving this Iesuiticall designe, they have many ends different from this & one another. But thus first; I heartily doubt, it is the designe of many, some beyond sea, some in *England* who have it may bee a double voyce in the managing this businesse: The Papists had never beene so full and forward in their contributions both of purse and person, were not there to them by themselves, and it may be by others, propounded great enjoyments. 2. All that joyn in this antiparliamentary war though they doe it not formally, yet by consequent they serve this design of slavery & superstition by endeavouring the overthrow of the Parliament, either in it self or priviledges, which must preserve both liberty and religion. They say they meane but the reducing it, why that is to break it in its freedoms, and they cannot stop there, because they carry with them men, that as they hate to be ruled by a parliament, so they love not to be ruled by any body, and when they are running down hill, especially *Descensus Avernus*, who can stop them, not he that set them on? So that in the prevailing of the now raised force, the ruine of this, and indeed all Parliaments may be easily discerned, unlesse such an one as may lawfully ruine us: in the ruining parliaments, who sees not the ruine of Religion, Law, Liberty, and this Kingdome, nay which is more, the extreame danger, if not destruction of the protestant Religion through Christendome.

If men have other intentions in this their expedition, as they do not iustifie them though they were better then they are, so neither doe they availle us, they fight not to serve *Spain* or *Rome* but themselves. But in mean time they are served, and themselves it may be, disappointed. The masters of this mischief have a way to improve other mens principles and practises to their owne ends, they see a parliament is not for their turn, they must have a war, its a hard matter to finde so many men of one minde, as to agree to make an Army for the same quarrell with the same end, therefore say they, let us observe their principles, and make them beleve they do their own work.

Is there a man that hath much to lose, & is through guilt afraid of it, let him be posselt there is no way to keep it but by strong hand; is he revengefull, let him often hear of iniuries reall or pretended; is he proud, let him be promised an unlimited absolut government, let him be told how unworthy it is, a great man to have so many joind with him in the point next supremacy, nay supremacy it self, The legislative power, Is there any that have endeavored the betraying their country, their building their ambitious proiects upon the ruins

of our safety and liberty, let them be possessed, there is no mercy in a Parliament, their estates if not persons must satisfie for their faults? Are there a people, as there are too many, whose lust is their life, that feare the power of Religion and strict discipline, they must be possessed that there is an endeavour of introducing a rigid Presbyterie, an absurd independency? Are there some who know not their own rights, nor the state of our government, let them be possessed with the Majesty, nay with the Deitie of a King, what a horrid thing it is to oppose an unlawfull command though to save a Kingdome. Are there an ignorant people that will be deluded with promises and pretences, let the hopes of pillage be propounded to them? Is there any thing men love, that the Parliament will take away, is there any thing they feare, that they will do. Thus doe the contrivers of this mischief make use of every mans weaknesse or prejudice, and either propound to them, or let them propound to themselves, ends according to their severall tempers, and lead them on with hope of their owne ends, to further theirs. In summe, the matter seemes to be this, Popery must grow up amongst us, till it have overgrown us; to accomplish that, the fence of our vineyard, our laws and liberties must be pluckt up, and that can hardly be done so long as a Parliament continue, or at least continue in their power and priviledge; to this purpose let them be defamed, dismembred, let an Army be drawn up to over-aw them, if that be prevented, let another be raised, under pretence of a guard, to destroy them: That this may be, let the Prince fight for his prerogative, for the maintenance or improvement of his falsly supposed violated power. Let the Lords and Gentlemen fight for their lusts, the Divines and Lawyers (if yet they deserve such names) for the keeping and getting preferments, the Delinquents for their estates, their offices and shares in an arbitrary power, the *Welchmen* for the word King and a Common-Prayer-Book, the poor for pillage, the ignorant they know not why: In the accomplishing these ends they shall accomplish a work they think not of, the destruction of our government, an end they know not of the growth of Popery, the wrong and ruine of the Protestant Religion here and in our neighbour Nations: the work is done, we are undone, there wants nothing but the *Plaudite* of the Popish Jesuited faction, and the late repentance of the unadvised furtherers of this mischief.

Now it were a question worth disputing and resolving what were the best way to prevent all this misery and mischief that is growing upon us. I know wiser men have it in hand, the Lord who is great in counsell, and mighty in working, direct and protect them, and make them faithfull to them, from whom they have found faithfulness. But this age where in every man will be saying something, I will adventure for a share. It may be the last service, (if it be a service) that I can doe, I will speak as if it were the last.

First, there is no man, or at least no Christian that doubts but a safe and honourable



a xable Accommodation betwixt his Majesty and his Parliament, were to be preferd not en'y to the danger of a war, but the certainty of a victory; for in the one we should get an interest in his heart, by the other only in his person, and the effusion of innocent blood would be prevented. But the great difficulty is, whether these just and honourable terms are likelier to be procured by fair means or by foule, by treating or fighting. To the resolving of this it must first be considered what is a safe, & what an honourable Accommodation.

And here it must be supposed, that no government that is settled by men, or in men, can be absolutely out of the reach of danger and destruction. The governments of men are as men are, subject to corruption. As the Poet of persons and vices, *Vitiis non o sine — optimus ille — Quis minimis urgetur.* [So] of governments none without its want and inconveniences, that the best which hath leest; we must never looke either by peace or war so to settle our selves, as not to be unsettled. Yet it concernes us toward a safe Accommodation to labour so to order things, as not to lie open to manifest, or iustly suspected misery or mischief.

Let it therefore be considered whether we can be safe, unlesse the power of the *Militia* be placed in men of knowne trust and faithfulness to the Kingdome. Some are of opinion, it had better never beene medled with: that it hath occasioned this trouble, I much doubt it, this businesse was resolved should be; on that ground or some other. That Accommodation can onely be safe to this Kingdome, which shall place the power of it in the hands of them that may be groundedly presum'd will use it for the preservation of it selfe, and consequently not to leave or place it in the hands of them who have, or are likely to abuse it, to the destruction of the Kingdome. Some say, let every man stand upon his owne guard, leave it undetermin'd: it was alwayes unfit and unsafe, now most of all, both in regard of our selves, and forraign nations? We have receiv'd the first fruits of *Ireland*, something from other Nations as a pledge of more inconvenient time. We have a desperate Delinquent Popish party among our selves that calls for the settlement of the power of the Kingdome, so as to be used for its owne safety. Reports concerning *Denmarke* have beene accounted ridiculous by them who thought they had contriv'd their businesse so cunningly that it could not be knowne.

It's true, that work of darknesse hath beene so clandestinely carried, as that a judicall proof could not be produced to satisfie the world: but besides the scorned relation of the Skipper at *Reterdam*, who we yet see may speake as true as a Courtier, and the common fame which runnes abroad, I beleieve there wants not some who know the earnest endeavour of calling in Forces from thence, the way and instruments of prosecuting that unworthy motion, what hath been acted in *Holland*, may be a sufficient argument of what hath beene attempted other where, all the world knowes how and by whom

that worke hath been carried on; and let all the world judge whether the power of the Kingdom ought to be put or left in those hands, who haue endeavoured to raise power against it or to be left undetermined, when there are and have been such determinations against us from abroad, and such bitter quarrels at home among our selves, who need after these desperate instigations no crueller enemies then one another. It's true though it be said that it much matters not who hath the command of our trained Bands, who haue hitherto served for little use but to arme the Kings forces against the severall Countries and the Parliament, but what hands the principall forts, armes & Ammunition are, and especially the Navy, is of as much consequence as the safety of the Kingdome.

Let it be considered, whether we can be safe till the neck of this mentioned designe be broken off, whereby the servants of tyranny & superstition indeavour to bring us under; It is beleevd that they are a restless generation that are alwayes either conceiving mischief or bringing forth iniquitie. Our interests must be untwined from the interests of *Spaine* and *Rome*, for so long as my Lo. *Cottingtons* house stands so neere the Spanish Embassadors, and *Bristow* is so convenient a harbor for *Spaine*, we must looke for little safety but lesse Religion.

Now that this fire may be quenched, and not onely raked up, it will be necessary that the fuell and fuellers be removed, that the instruments & matter of compassing this designe be abandond.

The instruments are conceived some particular men, who besides other characters plaine enough upon them, may be knowne by their advancing an arbitrary Government in the King; and the mancipation of themselves, to the promiscuous service of the Queen, who is Professedly zealous in this point & followes the plot by inheritance. The neck of this designe will scarce be broken, till the necks of some of the principall authors & actors be, and the rest disabled. And to that purpose, the Papists who are the dried fuell of this fire must be brought into another condition: the damnable compositions throughly damned, the lawes against them made up into one good law, which in some cases may destroy them, in every thing disable them. This poynt of delinquents, though made a very tender poynt in regard of particular interests and relations which make hast to destroy the publike, is of exceeding consequence to our safety. Our neighbours though they may possibly not do us the expected good, teach us this (but that we are resolv'd to learne nothing) by their complement in the businesse which hath made them, I feare, unable to help us, & in us themselves, & makes them turne the thought of their neighbours welfare into a more direct solicitude for their owne, in regaed of her now dangerous and it's like shortly desperate party left amongst them, and left able to hurt them. They flatter themselves with

B

their

their hardy poverty that it will not be worth the while to attempt them, that is sure but a poore refuge, wrath is our ragious, and anger is cruell, but who can stand before envie and revenge? Let them be assured, that if we be overborne with this feared mischiefe, & that party whom they know to have been the instruments of their trouble as well as ours preuaile, they will find the malignity of our Nation to have a strange influence into theirs to the doubling of their enemies among themselves and from us, to whom especially some among us they owe a great deale toward their present safety they must expect fewer friends then formerly, unlesse they shew themselves more friendly, and so we shall have a third union of the two kingdomes, an union in bondage: But pardon this digression, though I be out of the Kingdome, I am not much out of the way.

3. How can we be safe, unlesse our lawes be so by which we are preserved, & how can that possibly be, unlesse there be some new power establish'd, or the old power (if it be found only to have been deficient in respect of the persons trusted) in new hands, how shall we be the better for our Lawes, were our lawes better then they are, unlesse some exact course be taken to give us the benefit of them, and though it seemes an unreasonable thing to nominate officers in the behalfe of him who hath commanded and countenanced the violation of law, that doubtlesse must be the least; and no man, no reasonable man but sees the case extraordinary: The God of Heaven direct to a better remedy then for ought I heare is intended.

In the next place let it be considered what is required to an honourable Accommodation.

An honourable Accommodation must be so in regard of God and of our selves. And here I crave mercy from our over-forward Accommodators; I meane them from whom it is in vaine to crave justice and truth, that I mention God, who sure is not in all their thoughts, they feare God in a wrong sence, they feare least he should rule among us; whom yet if we give occasion to depart from us, which we shall do by unworthy termes, our defence is departed from us; whom if we now forsake he may justly cast us off for ever. An honourable Accommodation in respect of God is a safe one in regard of our selves, his honour is bound up with our happinesse; were it possible to settle peace without truth, we should yet be but what the *French* say of a beautifull harlot, A paradise to the eye, but a Purgatory to the sole.

Now in regard of God that Accommodation can be only honourable that may establish his true Religion in puritie and plenty; Such an one as may extirpate Popery & superstition, lay the grounds of a pious painfull Ministry, and to that end cast out those scandalous seditious persons, who have now shewed themselves as ill affected to the state as formerly to the Church, and if this advantage against them of stirring up the people to warre against the  
Parliament



Parliament be neglected, I know no way of ejecting them. Such an one as may purge our doctrine, free it from such expressions as *Sancta Clara*, and the Arminians take advantage of, reforme our discipline and make it more conduible to the end of all Discipline, the preservation of a Church from corruption in Doctrine and manners. And let it be weighed, whether that can be done without the supplanting those plants which our heavenly father never planted, the Bishops, which have hitherto brought forth the fruit of prophaineſſe, ignorance, superstition, and from whom little other can be expected: If you suggest, Put better men in their places. We answer, the places will make them worse: for so constant experience tels, the persons were ever worse by the office, the office never better by the persons.

An Accommodation honourable in regard of God must be such as may cleanse the land from blood, that innocent and precious blood which cries to be avenged by our Parliament, or upon it.

That Accommodation which should be honourable in regard of our selves, must be such as might put that part of the Kingdome which have stood up in the defence of it, into such a condition as to be free from the insufferable insolence and scorne, as they will alwayes lye under, from their unjust pressed enemies; but that is the least: Such an Accommodation shall we account honourable which may be so in regard of the Parliament, such as may retract the strange indignities offered that supreme Court and vindicate their honour and power, & enable them to discharge that great debt which they have undertaken for, lest publique faith be justly accounted no better then publique fraud, which is the highest dishonour for so high a Court.

If it be here interposed, where is your care for the Kings honour in the Accommodation? I answer, I thinke it more necessary to the welfare of this Kingdome, that the honour of this supreme Court be kept unstained then of any particular person whatsoever, I could wish the members of it would thinke so too, and avoyd those retreats which wise men have already observed in their proceedings, and will in a short time appeare to every body.

His Majestie hath fairer wayes out of his reall mistakes then the Parliament out of their supposed. He is (thought a great yet) but one person, in whom an error is more tolerable, he is supposed to act according to the misinformation of evill counsels about him, let him beare the blame and shame. If it be so stood upon, that his Majestie scornes any such evasion, & as he hath already been perswaded to doe, take all upon himselfe, why should we endanger our selves by a solicitude for the reparations of that honour, which they, whom it most concerns, are not at all.

For the Parliament to do what hath been required, and it may be, is ex-

pected; I had almost said what some of themselves are about to doe, were to make them ridiculous and vile in the eyes of discerning people, as the relinquishing their orders, retracting their Declarations, deserting their friends. For the King to doe what they have desired (though at another time it would have been unreasonable asked, and dishonourably granted) is now both reasonable and honourable to a true judgement, if it be honour in a Prince to promote by all possible meanes the happinesse and security of his people, it were but to doe that of which there might be Examples given in other cases, where Princes have not thought it dishonourable, because they have done it to give satisfaction to people, to retract calumnies, to sacrifice delinquents, or at least receive them as a gratuity, though not worth the giving or taking.

The next and great Question is, whether we are likely by a treaty to obtaine from his Majestie a reall grant of such propositions as may stand with the safety of the Kingdome, the honour of God, of the Parliament and Nation.

And here the former particulars must be resumed. First, is it likely that during this unpretended danger we should obtain a settlement of the power of the Kingdome, principally of the Ships, Forts and Armes in the hands of them who are knowne friends of publique safety or Liberty, taking it granted that we could find them. Here is a double doubt to be made, first, whether he will; secondly, whether hee, considered in his present condition, can doe what may be for our security; His constant Declaration of himselfe seemes to expresse that he hath received two Principles against it.

The one suggested by them who see no way of security, or at least of thriving but in a way of violence, who endeavour to possesse his Majestie, that he cannot be safe in the Armes of his Parliament and people, because they cannot; that there are inclinations to a defection in his people, and to an innovation of Government even in the greatest points of it in the Parliament, or many considerable persons in it, and thence inferre, that there is no way for his Majestie to keepe his priviledges, nor his person and Crowne but by force of armes, & therefore must haue them placed in hands that his confidence so contrary to ours may be put in. How farre such suggestions have prevail'd with his Majestie appears by his late answer to the Parliaments vaine repetition of a petition of returne, in which he saith, that to come up and trust them, were but tamely to lay downe his Crowne, which by force they saw they could not take from him. I doe not know of any such inclinations in his people, but I am sure such counsels and such carriages are the way to beget them: He is further told, or needs no telling, that he parts with the Flowers of his Crowne, which it is not reasonable, nay not lawfull for him to doe in regard of posteritie. But see here how indifferent these

men are as he for one who wrote the late Answer to the Observations printed by Command at *Oxford*. It is lawfull, nay necessary for us to invest his Majestie with what right God hath given us, a right in our selves we may part with, yet more of our liberty, and lawfully and profitably make our selves slaves, but it is not lawfull for the King to part with an inch of Prerogative or abate a jot of power, though for that end for which all his power was given him, his peoples good, and given him by us. He cannot doe it without wrong to his issue: This will but give us occasion to discusse how farre we are obliged by any acts or grants of our ancestours, giving away their and our liberty, and determine for our advanage. Doubtlesse his Majesties thoughts remaining as they have of late appeared to be, it cannot be expected that (had we the hearts to aske it, which some say unworthily begin to faile men, and make them faile their trust) hee should intrust the power of the Kingdome in those hands, whom we can only trust, that is such as in this present businesse have shewed themselves faithfull to the kingdom.

The case of constituting a power to see the Lawes duly executed, or at least of placing the present power in better hands is the like. These counsellors tell him there can be no new power but what is cut out of his, and the disposing of the former power is likewise his, that if it be not disposed by him, or else underhand by some body for him, it will be an insufferable diminution of his observance and authority. And no wonder though many endeavour thus to possesse him, because they look to have this power placed in themselves, to use it as they have done: His Majestie hath been alwayes observed to be too true to his owne ends, and to the persons promoting them, though other men who would yet be more confided in, have found a way to employ men and desert them; so that a reasonable man who weighs persons and things must conclude, that the King is not likely to yeeld heartily to the setting of that power, whereby he judges and rules, but into such hands that have given open testimony, or doe give secret intimations and hopes either by their promises or their persons that the power shall be used to the advance of prerogative and keeping the high way. You say some body must be trusted, I say trust them that have not deceived their trust; you aske where they are to be found? I wish I could answer it; As *David* once call'd for the 46<sup>th</sup> *Psalm*, so I for the twelfth, *Help, Lord, for the godly man ceases, the faithfull faile from the children of men*. But if our eyes were opened we might pretty well see whom not to trust, neither with lawes or Armes; that is, some tall Cedar posts, whose varnish is now worne off, the worms seen, the rottenness discovered, let not these be any longer accounted or used as pillars of the Common-wealth: Trust not men that are really needy, unlesse you be sure they can make no better bargaine; trust not men that by covetousnesse make themselves needy, they will make a bargaine



for themselves and of you; trust not men that are known vicious and sensually corrupt, though forward assertors of liberty, they are in danger to be given up by God, or to giue themselves up to actions every way dishonourable. The truth is, though it sound like a paradox, where few can be trusted more must: and seeing we find men very subject to be corrupted by honour and authoritie, especially in these times where such snares are laid and such baits propounded, let the law and Rule be made as plain and certaine as may be, the Offices of rule and Judicature must be made more temporary and arbitrary in respect of the people then formerly. Though this will sound harsh to men even accounted moderate, for I observe a generation that are extreemely set for liberty only, that themselves may be licentious and very hot against arbitrary Government, till themselves haue or hope to haue a share in it, as in the Earle of *Straffords* case, whose steps you see men of loud repite now beginning to trace, not thinking of his end.

In the place let it be examined, whether it be like to obtain of his Majesty in this conjuncture, the suppression of that party Popish and otherwise Malignant, in whose impunity it is impossible for us to be safe; Whether I be mistaken let wise men judge, but to me the Popish faction, the promoters of an arbitrary government by force, for such is that I feare, and the true patrons and lovers of truth and just liberty are as two scales or buckers, if one be high the other must be low; as it is against piety, so it is beyond the reach of policy, so to poyse them especially after such stirring the humours on both sides, as to keepe peace in this Kingdom. One must downe, it concerns us neerely to see which: First, let us consider, whether it is likely by our treaty so to abate the number and power of Papists, as that they shall not remaine continuall thornes in our sides. It is justly feared they haue too deepe an interest and another kind of reward is expected by them and intended to them for their forward & usefull service at home and abroad, all that they have done in *Ireland* is not like to prevaile so much to their discountenance as what he have done against *Scotland* and *England* to their favour, they have been former preached to be, and have now made good *Squire* Priests prophesie of the good Samaritane; good subjects in the Kings sense, though not in the Kingdoms. Shall they be discouraged, shall they be discarded, no let the poynt of the sword and their swords too be turned upon another sort of men who have rebelliously armed themselves to save a Parliament from assassination and a Kingdom from ruine. Shall not the Queene be gratified with the more free use of her religion, after that abundant service in *Holland* for the provision of men and armes against us. It requires doubtlesse a faith little short of presumption to beleewe that ever by treaty the Popish party shall be weakened, faith may be kept with them though they keepe none.

So for delinquents of the same kind, though another Religion, though we allow as much as can be allowed, that there be not a strict & punctuall prosecution of all that haue shewed themselves enemies to the State. Is it possible to obtaine so much of his Majesties favour or justice as to have the heads or necks of some of them who have been most desperate & active in the embroyling this kingdome in this civill warre, and the proportionable censure of the rest. It is doubted, nay it is despaired, whom we call enemies of the State, he calls friends and makes favourites, and keeps them in his bosome, who by the warmth of his favour are so heightened, that those whose care and paines have been indefatigable for the preservation of the kingdome from ruine both by sea and land, are accounted the same to his Majestie as those counsellors to us: where the Parliament thinks of punishments or should thinke, his Majestie thinks of rewards, and so on the contrary.

If you say that all must be re-nitted, first the just and reasonable expectation and engagement of the Kingdome cannot be so satisfied. Secondly, we still keep within our bosome the fuell of a greater fire, if possible, and more ready after these exasperations to take fire upon all occasions, & will be most ready of all, when d: yed, as they are like to be, by the Parliaments impunity and the Kings favour.

3. We leave our selves to the scorne and insolency of them whose pride and blasphemy is not like to stop till it comes at, Where is now their God? Which if it seeme good to the disposing hand of Heaven, let me rather dye than see or suffer.

If any here thinke or say, there is a great deale of reason his Majesty should grant what may be for the safety of the Kingdome, it is for his own safety: I answer my question is concerning will, not concerning reason. We are indeed told by him that undertaks the answer to the Observator, that we must suppose that prince out of his wits, either not come to them or past them, a mad man or a child that will not doe all for the safety and prosperity of his people, in which he is safe and flourishes. We are told this but find the contrary and have found it so often, that it ceases to be a wonder. It is not impossible for a man not out of his wits, neither though in that particular he hath not the right use of them to doe that which may tend to his own ruine for want of foresight, if you be not in this resolved aske our reverend prelates.

But further, though a Prince may be tender of the lives of his subjects, because he would have many to rule over; yet it is a question or a negative conclusion; Whether he desires to preserve their lives, so as they may be worth the enjoying with the advantages of their estates and liberties. It is true, to right reason this ought to be his desire & indeavour, because it is the honour of a Prince to be ruler of a rich and free people; but we many times find that Princes represent their subjects to themselves in the same relation as the land

to the sea, what I can gaine out of it is mine owne; Every abatement of a priviledge in them is an advancement of a prerogative in me, the emptying their purses fills my Coffers, and so make the happinesse of the people and their owne, which should be wrap'd up together, to be two distinct, nay two contrary things, as it is in *France*, and hath appeared to be in *England* in the midst of that 14 yeares spoile made upon us. Judge now whether it be not possible upon these termes for a Prince to be so farre from seeking the honour and safety of his people as to seeke their ruine as the foundation of his rising; and make a second judgement, whether we have not so represented to his Majestie; So that you see or may see there is absolute necessity, that a Prince should alwayes seek the true safety of his people with the advantages of wealth and liberty: But his gracious Majestie will; we have no way to judge of mens wils and dispositions, but their former actions and present preparations: it is too apparant, he hath at least permitted things to be done very much to the prejudice of his people, but we have promises for what we wish, we wish there were no reason to diffide. Its one extreme unhappines that the word of a King cannot rid us of all feares; what would you have further; that which we pray God for; a hearty close: But what would you have his Majestie doe further for your satisfaction? We would have him doe, prevent the Propositions with something that might really advance the good of his people, and abdicate all those persons and Countsellours who have fomented this destructive jealousie, and given the advice for this unhappy division. It must not be wondred that people will not be satisfied with promises and protestations, that have lived upon them while they are almost starved, and they evidently see *Esa's* rough hand going along with *Jacob's* smooth voyce.

And truly for my part, as it is doubted whether he will, so whether he can, without a hard adventure yeeld to things so much for our advantage, & for the disadvantage of his great Guard. The devill is now got out of the Circle and playes Reakes, the gward is thriven to an Army, two or three. Its some doubt whether the power that raised the devill can lay him; I have heard it reported, and am ready to beleve it, when I consider the disposition of many men about his Majestie, that some should say, as they had engaged themselves, their friends and fortunes in the quarrell, as warre could not be made without them, peace should not. And there is one doubtlesse in whose brest you may finde that indignation of *Iuno*, *Mene incepto desistere victam*, &c. So that in the making of peace it is feared there must be Articles made by them and for them, in whose peace we can have no peace.

Judge ye now of the likelyhood of a safe Accommodation, something may be further added concerning the probabilitie of an honourable.

Honourable in respect of God: What hopes is there that Popery should be



bee rooted up? May we not rather, in regard of the service done by the Papists, expect an intolerable toleration. But we have many engagements for the Protestant Profession. I must heere seriously professe my doubt, that there is some equivocation in that word *Protestant*; that the sense is taken as it hath been by some very large. You know how by the superstitious Prelates, the pillars of the Kings Protestant religion, popery hath been restrained, & protestancie must be accordingly enlarged. The Archbishop of *Canturbury* professed himselfe a direct enemy to popery truly & properly so call'd, which I beleeve he only thought to be the Popes Supremacie, which hee could scarce spare him; for all other points or most, we know were preached and printed with his Command or connivence. Now if the Protestant Religion be enlarged, according as the popish is straitned, a promise to maintaine the Protestant Religion is more then a man can wish.

What hopes that superstition should be abolished, his Majestie expressed himselfe at *Cambridge* an approver of all the superstitious dressees and gestures there used.

Of the purging our Doctrine or reforming our Discipline what hopes? we shal have a Synod, but who dares come to it upon the Accommodation? or who dares speak freely in it, after the Parliament by this Accommodation, shall submit to the King; wonder not that I count an Accommodation a submission; I beleeve the King (and justly) accounts the offer of it a victory. How miserably will you find the indifferent Clergie wrapping to the prevailing party, the zealous absent, and that justly, for I have a great deale of reason to be confident, that scarce any considerable man, who hath been engaged in this quarrell on the Parliament part, I make bold to call it so, for I hope they will yet owne it, if he retaine his integritie, dares abide the issue of a present Accommodation.

For the maine thing tending to the honour of God and the Salvation of men, the establisshing of a faithfull painfull Ministry, how impossible is it by Accommodation. Way must be made for that great worke by displacing those idle, scandalous, superstitious, ignorant persons, who are *fundi nostri calamitas*. But how this can be done by composition, I apprehend not, if this advantage against them of stirring up the people to spoile and rapine were taken, it were a good likely meanes of rooting out them who had shuffled their cards so cunningly as to be out of the reach of law in other respects, but if these men so unfit either for Church or Commonwealth be demanded, I beleeve this black guard must not be parted with; they may contend with the highest Delinquents, nay Papists themselves for point of Service in this cause; they have been the frogs comming out of the mouth of the beast, and the false prophet, stirring up the people to battell, telling them that though they damne themselves, God will save them, they shall either live

Saints or dye Martyrs: These men must be spared in regard of the service they have done, cannot be spared in regard of the service they may again doe upon the like occasion: for let any man observe and he shall finde, that those places which have been the dens of superstition, the dungeons of ignorance, the sinkes of prophanesse in regard of scandalous Ministers have contributed the forward assistance in this cause against the Parliament. Though I will not deny but some learned and ingenuous men (whose principles have yet beene below the power of Godlinesse) have upon generall mistakes and the swaying of particular ends engaged themselves in this businesse, though not so deepe as others.

And no doubt but the Prelates themselves will be againe accommodated by this Accommodation, notwithstanding the votes (to them now ridiculous & call'd votes) passed against them, for they say a Parliament ordinance can recoile as well as a Convocation Canon. No doubt, I say, but they may regaine their power in the Church, though it's like the Lords house may never have need of them.

And lastly how can the Land by this Accommodation be cleansed from blood, that crying sinne, which hath been contracted by this quarrell, if the Parliament have engaged men to shed innocent blood, I see no reason but that they submit, and an expiation be made, if on the contrary the Antiparliamentary faction beare the guilt, why not the punishment? As I apprehend it, the chiefe end of this taking up Armes on their party was to bring Delinquents to punishment, if now they give up on these termes, they have made many Delinquents, punished none, but rather given them a faire encouragement to the like offences by shewing them the worst they can look for from the justice of a Parliament. And truly this to me is a sad consideration which makes me beleeve God will not prosper an accommodation without the execution of justice upon these blood-thirsty men. I read it in the story of *Manasses*, that though he afterward repented, which our enemies are far from, yet wrath came upon Judah and Jerusalem, because of the provocations of *Manasses*, but particularly for the innocent blood which he shed which the Lord would not pardon. If the people, and especially the Parliament doe not their utmost to wash their hands, and cleanse the Land from this innocent and pretious blood that hath been shed; I feare that blood, which they take not care to be avenged by them, will be avenged upon them, which they will beleeve, when they see their Accommodation turned into an Assassination, which is no impossible businesse, nether will it be thought so upon a little recollection. The designe must on, the authours are impatient of this retrograde they have suffered these three yeers, they cannot make use of so much further patience as to worke by wiles and windings, in all probability the mistery of iniquitie so workes, as that if they that have

lected

letted will let they must be taken out of the way. Pardon these melancholick thoughts, I doubt there are too many of my mind, and yet, it may be, not many enough.

But sayes my confident friend, when you see safe and honourable propositions offerd and agreed upon, are not you gallantly deceived. I confesse I am, I shall be deceived if such termes be offered; more if they be kept.

But what will you say when you see the King come to London, upon the motion of the City, and a yeelding of the fairest termes you can expect? I can not tel what to say, but I know what to think. Yet I may tell you what the *Italians* say, They fear courtesies sometimes more then injuries, and this jealousy is not alwayes folly. I would make it a rule for my owne practise, let other men live by their owne rules; If my provoked professed enemie suddenly and without ground become miraculously kind, and close with me; I shall remember *Joab* and *Amasa*. I aske pardon againe: my melancholy is deepe.

In conclusion my thoughts are these, first that upon these considerations it seemes to me improbable that safe and honourable termes if they be offered should be granted and kept.

Secondly, though men be weary of the present, and desire to tumble into their former conditions; It seemes not agreable to the order of divine dispensation, that all this stirre should be made, this bloud shed, to produce a cold Accommodation: Doubtlesse the period of this businesse will be some great alteration, liberty or tyranny, Popery or true piety.

Thoug men, great men and a great many sometimes raise a great deale of dust, and make a mighty buffle and bring forth nothing but wind: Yet God who doth nothing in vaine is not wont to lay such foundations, and temper mortar with bloud, to have the rest of the building daubed up with untempered mortar. There are many, though not prophesies, yet sad predictions which godly and wise men have found by prayer and observation, to be fulfilled upon us before we can looke for happinesse though in Gods due time, and we hope in a short time he may bring light out of darknesse, and perfect peace out of this trouble. All the suffering almost hath fallen upon the house of God, judgement commonly begins there, but me thinks it should not end there: If the greene tree be cut to bleeding, sure the dry shall be cut to burning. We have been so long dandled in peace & sensuall pleasures that we can endure to think of nothing else, but it is to be doubted we must account for what we have enjoyed, for what we have abused, before we be trusted with more. These I say are my feares, though my hopes and prayers be, that the Lord would say to the destroying Angel, It is enough. I can & doe expostulate, as once the Prophet, *O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere thou be quiet? put up thy selfe into thy scabbard, rest and be still.* But my

Jer. 47.



mouth is ready to be stopt with the following verse, *How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against England, &c.* Let me not here be misinterpreted (I know I speake to angry men) I lay downe this as a bare opinion, I make it not a rule to my owne or others working. I pray for peace, labour for peace, advise for a good & seasonable peace, though my thoughts misgive in poynt of suddaine event. Let certaine rules and knowne grounds such as these. (*Follow peace with all men & belineffe, therefore love the truth & peace, If it be possible* (now that is onely possible which is lawfull; *How can I doe this and sinne?*) *live peaceably with all men*) be the guides of mine and others actions, notwithstanding such, though not groundlesse, surmises. The world seemes to be bigge with some great birth, the Lord hasten it in its time, alterations seeme to abide all Christendome, I pray God make ours for the better. I leave it now to the world, or at least to the little world of prudent men, to judge what likelihood there is of a safe and honorable Accommodation; such a one as may be built upon the foundation of truth: Peace without truth is no true peace, If the wisdom which lyes against the truth is earthly, sensuall & divellish, whatsoever is done by or for us, God grant it may be done by that wisdom which is from above, that is first pure then peaceable, without partiality, without hypocrisie. And then the fruit of righteousness will be sowne in peace to them that make peace.

But suppose (if it be lawfull to be supposed) that the Parliament, through the absence of many resolved men, now imployed in particular services for their owne Countries out of an intolerable wearinesse of this present condition, and feare of the event, agree to the making up of an unsafe unsatisfying Accommodation. This would beget a question, which I hope I shall never have occasion to dispute, whether in case the representative body cannot, or will not, discharge their trust to the satisfaction, not of fancy, but of reason in the people; they may resume (if ever yet they parted with a power to their manifest undoing) and use their power so farre as conduces to their safety; And if this doubt cannot be resolved to the advantage of the people but be found either unlawfull or otherwise impossible. I know but two wayes more betwixt which the choise is very hard, hang or flye. As for hanging I should not much like it, though it were in a blue ribband, but for flying you will say the way is open, I would it were as I could wish it, if ever God bring us to such a strait; but in the meane time, if honest and engaged men be so farre deserted, as to be constrained to flight, it will be full of dishonour and danger; Dishonour to them by whom they have been so engaged and employed, and danger to the Nation, which by their absence will be the more exposed to an inrode of superstition and tyranny. It may be there are some that will be ready to say a faire riddance, they are the troublers of Israel who are thus full of jealousies, as to runne away from the shadow of their

their owne dreames; but there will be others, as wise as they of another mind, who know that the Puritans though they be thought a little factious and troublesome in the Church, yet they are good Common-wealths men, resolute asserters of publique liberty, that will pay roundly, and fight too, if need be, and cannot well be spared. And truly as there is a great deale of unsafety in it in reason, so doubtlesse it would give God an advantage against the Nation and make him proceed without any such demur, as, *How shall I give thee up, O Ephraim? O England.*

But one thing further: Although an Accommodation may be probable, yet I meet with many who hold a strong conveniencie, if not an absolute necessitie of sending propositions, in whose deniall may be advantage. But it is in vaine for me to dispute that which the Parliament have determin'd; I onely wish the sending of them may doe as much good, as the delay in framing of them hath done harme. It is expected the not granting of them should bring off some of the Kings Party; I am sure the making them at this time hath lost some of the Parliaments, it hath divided the City, the Parliament, the Kingdome, almost starved the Army, and brought things to confusion. For when people conceive the Parliament recide from their principles and votes, whereby they have formerly declared themselves in an incapacity of treating, and give little lesse then an implicate consent to an accusation of treason against their instruments, they begin to withdraw their hearts & hands, not knowing how low they meane to goe themselves or bring their friends. It were therefore to be wished, that preparations for war and peace were carried on with an equall hand, that the enemies of the Parliament had not so much encouragement, nor their friends so much discouragement; For let us be assur'd, if the Parliament give them, whom they called malignants, equall interest in them with their friends, friends will be harder to finde then ever they were, and furthest off when there is most need of them. And what a lamentable thing a Parliament is without the people, in all just cases to stick to them, if you know not, remember the 4 of January, the great Army by land and Navy by Sea, the pikes and protestations, that have been mentioned with a jeering indignation. But I here seriously aske pardon for making that my worke, which is the work of wiser men. I am lead to a discourse I hope beyond exception, which will be a just inference from that which hath been said concerning Accommodation.

We all know that force and arms must now do that which faith and truth before this Iron Age were wont to doe, and whether we treat or not, it is of absolute necessitie that there be an army till the King see fit to discharge his guard; If this army be dissolv'd he is a wise man that knowes where to have another; If we have none, we shal never need to think of making propositions they shall bee made to our hands, or to our heads, and necks. It is left there-

fore to indifferent men to judge, whether it be not fit that this present Army raised by the Parliament and maintained by the City and Kingdome, may not in justice expect countenance and maintenance from them, by whom and for whom, they have been employed and engaged. For the first, which is countenance they stand not so much upon, only as it is a part of their reputation, but the latter is the maine.

I finde even among the Parliament men, many who have conceiv'd and expressed, I thinke unjust I am sure unpolitike jealousies of the Army, which have so farre wrought upon many considerable men in it, that in case the like necessity againe returne, I very much feare, whether they would not rather fly to save their owne lives then stand to fight for them who so requite them. It is a strange and unhappy turne, that where the safety not long since was, (and to a right judgement now is) there the danger should be. Cannot we bee content to be jealous of our enemies? But it is not to be wondred at when the people who have been their immediate safety find the like measure from some of them, who begin now to suspect, that they have been so forward for their supplies and defence, only, that they might make use of them to doe some strange thing, and be midwives to some *Chimera*, which yet nobody knowes what to make of. I guesse at such thoughts by some expressions I have heard from them, who say they doubt the people aime at some great *infandum*, something to big for their monthes though not for their hearts, which they are so horribly affraid of being serviceable to, that they many times doubt whether themselves should doe their owne duty, because they suspect other men forget theirs. Not considering that this is the way to beget a counter-jealousie which may undo all, but the Parliament first.

There are some men, it may be, that will not speake what they would have, it is as likely that they will neuer attempt it, mens wishes may be modest enough, all things considered, and yet not easily expressed, The Parliament finde it an extreme hard thing to say what themselves would have, they are as men walking among Quagmires, know not where to fasten a foot. No wonder though the poore people whose thoughts are all swallowed up in danger and distraction cannot say what they would have for their owne safety.

But for the matter of the Army, this Treaty is not like to be of so speedy dispatch, if safely carried, but it will admit, nay urge a consideration of maintaining the Army, and finding out a settled way of maintenance. The Kingdome hath hitherto supplied the Army as the King supplied himselfe before the Parliament by loanes and bargaines, and a contribution liable to two great mischiefes, trouble and uncertainty, it were good some constant course were undertaken, that we might be rid of our feares, and the hopes of our enemies a little dash'd, who flatter themselves with the failing of our  
treasure,



treasure, knowing we have not the conscience to live as they do. And to this purpose an excize, a weekly assessment or voluntary contribution must be thought on. As it is no contemptible summe that is paid upon a voluntary monethly contribution, so it might be made more considerable, if men were by some meanes or other brought to a leuell: for it is the unevenesse of the grounds men are upon that makes them stumble at this way of supply; they say and say justly, that unlesse the disaffected party be reduced to some proportionable termes, they shall goe on to impoverish themselves, and make themselves the objects of the scorn and insolencie of their enemies, and the pity of their friends. Here therefore let it be considered (nay let it be no longer considered, *In re tam justâ non est deliberandum*) whether with all diligence (I had almost said with all violence,) the Ordinance for assessing the Non-contributors be not to be put in execution: I am ashamed of the excuses made in this particular, some that are employed pretend they are afraid of the ill will of their ill neighbours. But what equitie is there in this proceeding, it is a continuall quarrell (*ad ravimus*) in the City, that the Army marches not against *breſtworks*, *batteries* and the *mouth of the Ordinance*, when themselves doe not, and pretend dare not, with the advantage of an Ordinance of Parliament, adventure upon the open *mouth of a malignant* upon the hopes of our ruine, *mounted against them*.

But it may be some feare their hands more then their thoughts or tongues. That is hard, that the power of Parliament and *Militia* in the hands of men well affected to the Parliament should leave grounds of terrour in the minds of the Citie, let them assure themselves that feare this feare, that they shall never have lesse reason to be afraid then now they have, and if they let them goe on at this rate, the thing that they feare will come upon them; our diffidence is their strength; We have so used them hitherto, that they can be more merry in a prison then we in our freest meetings. And it is to mee a sad thought (which the mention of a prison hath brought to my mind) that our prisoners, men of repute, piety, and valour should be so unworthily used by our adversaries; and we in the meane time suffer theirs to enjoy not only unnecessary but unlaſfull contents, witnesse the plenty of wine, and the resort of women (where there be Cats, there must be Vermine) at *Lambeth house*. How just were it that we had twentie or thirtie of the Chiefe of them, some of the souldiers, some of the Citizens, sent to *Windſor* Castle or some other place, where they might at the best fare but like souldiers, or otherwise according to intelligence. Let the Parliament bee assured, that if they give up on these termes, they will leave an everlasting discouragement upon their friends and not know where to find men to sticke to them (for themselves see how they are abused by the petitioners for peace, whose sense is fully enough expressed in the libellous complaint to the Commons) when they shall have need,

need, which I am confident through the restless designs of them who lye at the bottome of this businesse, they will quickly have.

But it will be here objected, the Army give continuall disadvantage to their owne maintenance and encouragement by the ill managing the affaires committed to their trust.

To this I answer, First, that I would not be taken for the generall Advocate of the Army; doubtlesse there are faults personall and reall, more then I know, more then can be excused: But first there have been many things said against the Army that never were, or could be proved; and further the Army is prejudiced by the expectation of things impossible. When the people are unchangeable, and the Parliament infallible, the Army shall be unblameable: It is expected by the Parliament and Citie that the Officers should be all honest and faithfull; what an unreasonable thing is this, will you expect that in a Camp, that you find not in a Court? no not in the two great Courts of the Kingdome and City, the Councell of the Commons, and the Common-Councell. And to make good my title and speake *Plaine English*, The Parliament and City have shared in the power of the Army, it is good reason likewise they should share in the blame: They have recommended many of the Officers they finde fault with, whatsoever other men are; I can assure they are not all Saints that they have put into the Calendar. For the consequent of corrupt Officers, which is false Musters, it is a great and a just quarrell which all honest men desire to remove the ground of. But first let it be considered, that it is the common lot of all the Armies of Christendome, the Prince of *Orange* makes the same complaint, to which purpose I could tell you a story, but that I am resolv'd against tediousnesse. The noble and victorious King of Sweden did by his very great diligence provide against it as much as was possible. But in stead of quarrelling, let us attempt, a not impossible, redresse. Let the Parliament or Citie, if they can in this wicked world find some stoicall men, that despise money—*Quos dignos spectatu arbitremur*, appoint pay-masters to every Regiment from whom the Officers and Souldiers should receive their pay: let them attend constantly, and pay two or three times a weeke at an appointed place in the quarter with the forfeiture of pay upon an unlawfull absence. The honest Officers would heartily embrace this motion, and be glad to be free from the continuall trouble they now endure from their importunate retinue, as for Knaves they will not speake against it, least they shew themselves so. It being alwayes reserved, that honest men upon better reason may speak against this motion, to which I submit. This would be a way to save money, to keepe the souldiers together; only let care be taken that the men to whom this trust is committed be of good repute, and able sometimes at a pinch to disburse some money to the common Souldiers, But I leave this in the midst.

Another

Another great quarrell is, but the most unjust, that they march not, that they are not active. The Souldiers hands indeed go not so fast as other mens tongues. Action is not so quick as thought, especially thoughts wing'd with earnest desires, *Desiderio etiam celeritas in mora est*. Are there not continuall parties out, and that with no contemptible successe, according to which if men glorified God, and were thankfull, they would not be so vain in their imaginations: Let them look upon other Armies in forraign Nations; upon the Kings Army, whom it concerns to be active, if they had opportunity. To assault *Reading*, nay to gaine it, would not countervail the hazard and losse, It is likely they would attempt *Oxford*, though against reason, if the Parliament and City will undertake for their own securitie in the *interim*, and make good the necessary damage of a winter siege. Oh how easie a thing is it to give a hard censure, to fare well and lye warm, and to condemne poore souldiers, to lye in winter-trenches at the mercy of wet and cold. Sure there are many men that think it as easie a matter to win a Towne, though fortified, as to make a breach in the wals of a Christmas Pie. But as I undertook not an absolute justification in the other complaints, so neither doe I in this, but doubt not but they may receive satisfaction from them whose experience makes them able to say more then I can; but of late the complaint hath bin reciprocal: The souldiers would not act for want of pay, the people would not pay for want of action. The best way is to mend both together.

In *fine*, let us be well assured that whosoever suffers his discontent against the Army to grow up to revenge, means in the issue to strike himself. And whereas it is said that the putting the Army into an expectation of constant supply would make them unwilling ever to disband, how void of reason is this exception? whereas in the hands of the Parliament and Citie are those nerves and ligaments which hold the Army together, which they may shrink or cut as they see cause. But from the necessitie of an Army I passe to the conveniencie if not necessitie of an Association.

And how could I now wish that my pen could drop spirit and vigour into the hearts of my plannet-stricken Country-men. Or rather that he who formeth the spirit of man within him, and fashioneth the hearts of the children of men, would give them so much of his own spirit, which is a Spirit of truth and action, as to make them valiant for the truth once committed to them. How sad a thing is it to see what a French tincture our English Nation hath gotten, as if there were a bridge made from *Calis* to *Dever*. What an apish disposition hath possessed our Gentry, what an asinine disposition our Commonalty, which if not timely shaken of will make way for the worst of *France* to be ruled by horses in stead of men, which is a thing I have long feared.

Hearc, O people, Consider that you are considerable or might be, if good counsell would be taken. Do not you see how you are courted by the King, what care the Parliament take for your satisfaction? Sure you are not so contemptible a thing as some would make you; your right is much, and your power no lesse, if you would know the one and use the other. I am sensible how offensive this discourse is like to be, but it never was my intention (had it bin possible) to please all men. But let me not bee mistaken, I am farre from the Monster of a *Democracy*, that which I call to the people



for, is but a quick and regular motion in their own sphere, to do that which the Parliament hath sometimes call'd upon them for, to contribute their best helps to two great works, of mercy and justice; Mercy to the Kingdome in its preservation, Justice to its Enemies in their destruction. Suppose they hit not upon the same meanes, but, through the narrowness of their precept, which can scarcely be extended to all circumstances and opportunities, be constrained to out-run a command, their faithfull prosecution of the end design'd them, which is the safety and preservation of the Kingdome, and in it their owne, may justly excuse them, if not commend them; As by the votes of acceptable service may appeare.

And here I confesse my selfe at a stand, I know not what remedy to prescribe to this Lethargy, the things that one would have thought should have quickned the people have stupified them; If the dint of the sword, the noise of the Canon directed and discharged against themselves, their lawes and liberties, their wives and children, cannot awaken them, I know not what will; unlesse it be the thunder of some terrible judgement from heaven that will at once awake them, and lay them downe to a perpetual sleep. How strangely are mens eyes dimmed, and hearts deaded; Not above a year since upon the noise of bringing up an Army to put the Parliament in wardshipp, upon the attempt of an illegall seizure upon some of their members, what a high and yet just tide were men flowen to, *Quantum mutatus ab illo — Hectore?* — We now see that done with open face which was then studiously concealed, a mighty Guard actually raised, brought up as neer the Parliament as feare would suffer them: for notwithstanding that short Covering of the *Brainford* businesse, to knowing men it is undoubted; that the designe was upon the Parliament and Citie, where if God had not mercifully and miraculously prevented, after their Sabbath dayes plunder of *London* (their usuall Sanctification) strange Acts might upon Munday morning have been made at *Westminster*; when terror had seized upon the good, and confidence, if not impudence, possessed the evill. We now see in stead of those 6. at least 26 accused of treason for the same cause that they were, that is, being forward and active for the preservation of the Kingdome from the Kings Guard. It is the same season of the yeare, a more unquestionable cause, where are your pikes and protestations? your courage and resolutions? Do you conceive your danger more, your enemies more formidable, should not your valour encrease with your danger, if it were so, when the cause remains the same? But look seriously about you, you will not want encouragement. Look West or North, or South, to *Sussex*, *Devonshire*, to *Lancashire* and *Yorkeshire*; but especially look above you to heaven it self, you can want no arguments to stirre you up in this service; let no man be dismayed by the dreame of impossibility. Do you say that life is sweet? is not Religion? is not Liberty so likewise? they should be as delightful as they are wholesome:

*Summam crede nefas animam preferre pudori*

*Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*

I am ashamed that any man that understands these lines should not so far understand himself, as to count all things losse and dung, to gain the price that is now in his hand, and let him be ashamed too, with a shame that puts on to amendment.

We have long pretended a zeale against idolatry, while in the mean time wee are all become one idoll. We have eyes, and see not, &c. We have eyes and see not an Army of Papists, not onely with Permission allowed to use their owne religion, but with Commission appointed (in event) to destroy ours ; we have eares and heare not the continuall blasphemies against our God, the reproches and slanders against our Parliament ; It cannot indeed be said, We have mouthes and speake not : For they that doe least commonly speake most. But I am sure I may say, Feet have we, and march not ; hands have we and handle not the Sword and Shield. We talke of want of Armes, its want of hearts ; had we no Smith in *England*, as once in *Israel*, if men had had their true English Protestant spirits, and well timed their attempts, their enemies had been meat to them, though many of them (as they that viewed the carcasses at *Kinton* say) rotten meat. But I am weary of Complaint, let me turne to Advice. Besides those foggy mists of ignorance and mis-information that have at once blinded mens eyes, and dull'd their spirits, the great disadvantage of this great body of the people which I now speake to, from doing great things, hath been the dis-union of them, many twigs have been broken which if bound up together would have made a rod for the severe correction, if not destruction, of their enemies.

Let it therefore be considered, whether an Association well and warily laid may not be a great advantage for the recollection of these loose and distracted spirits, which united might be so serviceable. An Association I say well and firmly laid ; An Association not subject to Equivocation ; an Association more particular then the Protection, which like the Net in the Gospel brought up fishes good and bad, and stones as well as fishes.

And here let the children of this generation (for I hope they shall never see the next) the Bishops, be taken into example for the manner though not the matter of the act. When they went to contrive an Oath they did it to the purpose, a sifting, distinguishing Oath that should have scarcely left an honest minister in the Kingdome. Therefore, I say, let this Association be wisely laid so as to give us to know our friends from our enemies, yet not so strictly as to engage to things impossible or too many, but something to this purpose. To the maintainance of our establish'd Religion and Law with all possible improvement, to the maintainance of this Army (raised under the conduct of the truly Noble and Valiant Earle of *Essex* Captaine Generall) by Purse and Person against the opposite faction, and to bring Delinquents so voted, by the (once sacred) Votes and Consent of Parliament to condigne punishments. But I am now beyond my owne line, I know there hath been paines taken in this businesse, and the speculation of it hath been more fully studied by others, then my desire of practise will for the present allow me to doe. This businesse as it must be well laid, so warily and religiously entred into. There is a great deale of danger in promissary Oathes, I would have no man lose his soule to save a Kingdome, which he that knows well the price of soules, having paid for so many, prefers to a whole world. This Association especially in the Easterne and Southerne parts of the Kingdome that enjoy the benefit of the now rais'd Army, in all reason must be for a contribution to the maintainance of it. To agree for the preservation of their owne counties by their native power, had been sufficient (it may be) before an opposite Army raised ; but it will be now found most concerningly necessary to looke at the present Army raised in the defence of the Kingdome as the best ground-work of safety, and I doubt not but they will so approve themselves when the spring of action comes. There are a generation of men too fruitfull, who though the Arke and *Israel* lye in tents, yet they must goe in

and eate and drinke, and lie with their wives, of whom good use may yet be made, let them pay for an indulgence for this their indulgency, these are well-woulders to the Parliament and Kingdome, let the impediments of their action, their wives and children, be content to purchase the presence of their Husbands and Parents, with the want of those accomplishments which in these times may be well spared, and by this meanes I doubt a summe too considerable may be raised.

The benefit of such an Association would be doubtlesse great; It would concenter and determine the loose and languishing affections of men and propound them a particular marke of action. It would be a good second string in case the Parliament should unhappily miscarry, whereas otherwise we should be found as sheep scattered, a fit pray for the *Wolves* of these times. Much more might be said to this purpose, but a little done, were better then a great deale said. Let therefore thoughts and words put on action, the love of Christ prevaile as much in Protestants for a *Confederacie*, as the zeale for Antichrist hath done in Papists for a *Conspiracie*. When Theeves and Murtherers say, Let us all have one purse, let us lay wait for blood; doth it not concerne true men, men of truth to say, Let us have one heart, let us goe out (as it was said of the children of Israel) as one man against them; Let us therefore lay aside our particular interrests, and embarque our selves in this common cause of Religion, Law and Liberty, all the paines we otherwise take is but building without a foundation. It is in vaine for an honest man to thinke of prosperity or security in this Nation; but in the successe of this present businesse; Its true, there are great unavoidable difficulties propound themselves on every side, but let us do our duty and wait on God, even the God of our Salvation, who may answer us by terrible things in his righteousness which we looked not for. God hath put us to many a losse, that we might have opportunity of seeking and finding him. His way is in the sea, and his paths in the great waters, his footsteps are not knowne. Yet he led, and will still lead on his people toward a land flowing with *Milke and Honey*; the sincere *Milke of Truth*, the sweet *Honey of Peace*.

## FINIS.

---

Whatever errors have escaped the Authour or Printer, as the commission of them speaks a man, so let the pardon shew a good man. I meant *Plaine English*, its like he meant true. *Veni an pro laude.*